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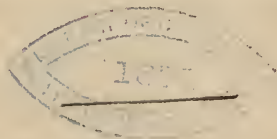
ON

AMERICAN SLAVERY,

AND ITS

PROPOSED REMEDIES.

BY A NORTHERNER.



HARTFORD:  
PUBLISHED BY HENRY BENTON.

1838.

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## THOUGHTS ON SLAVERY.

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THE present age is evidently marked with a redeeming spirit. As intellectual improvement progresses, and especially as the light of truth brightens and extends, and mankind more clearly understand, not only their unalienable rights, but also their true interests, moral and physical, we may anticipate corresponding efforts for the attainment of the one, and the promotion of the other.

But a few years since, the almost universal prevalence of the use of intoxicating drink, gave sad evidence of the bias of human nature to self ruin, and formed an alarming symptom that, on this point, "destruction and misery

were in its way." Now we find, at least in the more enlightened portions of the land, the current of popular sentiment setting strongly against all connection both in traffick and use, with an article which, so far from being an *indispensable requisite* to human happiness, is a relic of barbarism, and the bane of all that is valuable in social and domestic life. And as this sentiment prevails, we see proportionate efforts put forth to expel the poison from the community.

But a few years ago, the representatives of the United States from the East, West, North, and South, virtually declared by their votes in Congress, that the purchase and possession of the natives of Africa and their descendants, was consistent with the charter of our freedom, which declares as the political creed of the nation that "*all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life,*



*liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*"\*—

But since experience has taught that the phrase "ALL MEN" in this article of the public faith, recognizes no exception of colour, and that the love of liberty glows as ardently under a black skin as under a white ; and particularly, since experience has begun to testify to the *danger* as well as the injustice of trafficking in human bones and sinews under the banner of freedom ; we perceive a correspondent spirit of reform awaking in the public mind on *this* subject.

This is as it should be. And it were well if a similar spirit of reformation existed towards *all* the offences against the laws of Heaven which mark us as a people, and expose us to the divine displeasure. I know not but that the same hearts which swell with the feelings of reform

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\* The word *unalienable* must obviously be used here in a qualified sense ; as even civil liberty itself requires these rights to be alienated or taken away in individual cases for the welfare of the community.

towards the evils which have been specified, are equally engaged to wipe away our reproach for the *oppression of the Indian tribes* on our borders, by promoting repentance and restitution—are equally zealous to redeem the *Christian Sabbath* from legalized desecration—to exalt the statute-book of God in our halls of legislation; and to spread the influence of the gospel so extensively, that the nation may be brought to “beat the sword into the ploughshare, and the spear into the pruning-hook, and learn *war* no more.”

One thing is certain, the spirit of reform which looks at national sin in *all* its ramifications, and which aims to cast away from the midst of us *all* our transgressions, is the spirit most to be desired and cherished. An overbearing zeal against some sins, while others are committed without compunction or restraint, is, at best, the mere ebullition of a temporary excitement, springing not from principle but from extraneous circumstances; and proves that the

opposition professed, arises not from aversion to crime itself, but from prejudiced feelings, and very partial if not entirely selfish motives. Not that we ought to neglect all efforts to reform mankind, unless we can make the reformation thorough and entire ; or that we should aim to abolish no crime because we cannot banish all. This is not the sentiment designed to be conveyed. But, that our efforts will prove suspicious and fruitless, just in proportion as they seem to arise from hostility to *the sinner* more than to *his sins* :—from opposition to a particular modification of crime, more than to crime itself.

In accordance with this sentiment, it is my object to consider the subject of SLAVERY, as it exists in our country, and the measures proposed for its abolition. And in presenting my thoughts on this topic, I only avail myself of the right of free discussion, which is now so loudly contended for ; and respecting which, I beg leave to say a word in the outset.

I understand by this right, the privilege of all men to publish either orally, or by the press, their opinions on all subjects, and the reasons for them; *provided* that these opinions, and their publication, do not invade the rights of others.

Suppose, for example, that a community of some fifty or a hundred families, united in sentiment and purpose, should emigrate in a body to the West, and there form themselves into a society under certain laws or regulations, upon the principle of government by a majority. A stranger visits the town, and proposes to assemble the inhabitants, and proclaim in their hearing sentiments diverse from their own; and which they consider subversive of their peace and harmony. The authorities of the town refuse his request, and forbid the procedure. With what grace would such an individual demand a hearing, or raise the cry of an infringement of his rights? And suppose that a few of the inhabitants, easily led away by eve-

ry wind of doctrine, should come forward to favor his application ; would this give him the right to be heard, against the will of the majority ? And if, under these circumstances, he should persevere in obtruding himself upon them ; setting at defiance the expressed will of the community ; and that community should, under the excitement of the occasion, break through their own wholesome regulations and *mob* him ; would he be most justly deemed a martyr to the cause of free discussion, or a victim to his own rashness ?

*Again.* Suppose I should proclaim to this community, that on a certain day or evening I would hold a public meeting, in which I would pourtray the characters of some members of the community, not by name, but so vividly that they could not be mistaken, and hold them up to public notoriety. The magistrates of the place say to me, “ Sir, you must relinquish this purpose, and not attempt such a movement, otherwise you will assuredly be assaulted, and



probably abused." I reply, "Gentlemen, this is a land of freedom of opinion, and I, as a citizen, demand my right of free discussion, and I hope you will sustain me in vindicating that right." Does any one fail to perceive the arrogance, not to say absurdity, of such a claim? And suppose, seeing my obstinate determination to proceed, they should, in the exercise of the authority vested in them by law, interfere to prevent me from making the attempt; with what propriety could I complain of persecution?

The right of *free discussion*, then, is to be regulated by circumstances; by the subject to be discussed, and the rights of others, and to be limited to that over which we have control, for the right to discuss implies the power to *decide*. Like the expression of private opinion, it must have regard to whom and of whom it is expressed, and the time and circumstances in which it is uttered. And they who inflame the passions of a mob by the *abuse* of what they



call their rights on this point, ought not to complain of the consequences. But to the subject proposed.

That *slavery* is an evil, and a threatening evil, it is presumed will not be denied. And in order to a correct and practical consideration of this evil, it is necessary that we form a right judgment respecting its *nature*, and *who* are concerned in its guilt. Thus we shall be better qualified to think, feel, and act upon the great question respecting the ways and means for its removal.

Let it be observed, then, that *slavery*, as it exists in our land, is a *public*, and *national*, and not merely an *individual* or a *provincial sin*. Not many years since, the inhabitants of the Northern as well as Southern section of the country were direct partakers in it. Northern vessels have heretofore been extensively engaged in the slave traffick which has entailed the evil on the South, and many princely estates in

different parts of New-England were acquired by the profits.

Previous to the adoption of the Constitution of our country, all were involved in the promotion of this evil ; and, in the formation of the Union, as it now exists, the votes of the North and the South were equally concerned.\* In some of the Northern states, also, slavery was marked with great severity. In the year 1740, a slave belonging in the state of New-York was convicted of some crime, by *three* justices and a jury of *five*, and *burnt at the stake* ; so severe were the laws of that State against slaves.†

Slavery is an evil of *numerous and extensive ramifications* ; interwoven with some of the most important interests of the nation, especially of the South and West. The commerce of the North is still, to a greater or less extent,

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\* See Art. I. Sec. 3, and Art. IV. Sec. 2, of the Constitution of the U. S.

† Judge Daggett's charge, at the trial of Miss Crandall, Oct. 1833.

employed in the transportation of the products of slave labor. Indigo, cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar, molasses, &c. &c., have become important articles of commerce to every portion of the country. "So long as our confederacy exists," says a late advocate of immediate abolition, "a commercial intercourse with slave states, and a consumption of their products cannot be avoided." In the collection of debts, also, the property in slaves is recognized by Northern as well as by Southern traders; and as such, slaves have been attached by Northern creditors to secure payment.

In the slave-holding states especially, is this evil entwined about all the interests of civil and domestic life. It has been transmitted from generation to generation; and those who are now its more immediate inheritants, feel its pressure heavier than did any of their ancestors. But it lies at the basis of their social and political interests. They are all, to a greater or less extent, born the constituted guardians,

as well as the possessors of the coloured population ; and as such, are involved in duties and cares of which they can no more divest themselves, while holding that relation, than those who are parents can throw off the duties and cares involved in the *parental* relation.

Nor is it an easy matter to *abolish*, at once, the relation thus existing between the master and slave, consistently with the welfare of both. Its roots have so entwined themselves around the foundations of almost all that is “lovely and of good report” in the community, that in their eradication, there is, to say the least, a *possibility* of uprooting also the wheat with them.

It has become customary with those who are endeavouring to pourtray the sin and guilt of slavery in its darkest shades, to compare it to the sin of *intemperance*, and argue from the supposed analogy, the duty of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION. The force of such reasoning is quite imperceptible, because no such analogy

exists in the *nature and circumstances* of the two evils; the one being a matter of individual appetite, and habit, which may be controlled, and the traffic pursued or abandoned at the option of the individual concerned in it; while the other depends for its remedy, on the combined will of the whole community, expressed through their legal representatives.

I admit, that, taking the *abstract principle of sin* merely, in the two cases, and reasoning from it on the *extent of the guilt* connected with each respectively, we may frame a specious argument to suit a purpose. Thus it has been argued, that as those who traffic in, or use intoxicating drink, are viewed as accessories to the sin of drunkenness and its results, and involved in its guilt: so are not only slave-holders guilty, but all who traffic in and consume the products of slave-labor, are accessories to the sin of SLAVERY.

As I shall have occasion again to advert to this mode of reasoning, I will merely observe



here, that, supposing it correct, it serves to show the *extent* of the evil—that *slavery*, as it exists in our land, is peculiarly *the sin of the nation*; and very similar in its nature to the sin of *oppression*, as it has been committed against the **ABORIGINES** of the country, in the violation of the most solemn compacts made with them; and the sin of *desecrating the Christian Sabbath* by the legalized transportation of the public mails on that day.

Like these, also, it is a sin of extensive ramifications; blended with the enactments of civil law, and involving many questions, not only of expediency, but of duty, in relation to its bearings upon the various departments of political and civil life.

Viewed in this broad light, we shall find that it is an evil, the eradication or reformation of which, is no work of a day, or a year; and that it cannot be effected suddenly, but by producing convulsions in society, which will be felt,



not merely in the South and West, but throughout this great republic.

In prescribing *remedies* for this evil, therefore, it becomes us to keep steadily in view its *nature* and *extent*; its magnitude and connections; that we may not blindly set in motion the engines of our political destruction, and bury, at once, our efforts and our hopes, in the grave of our civil and religious as well as domestic happiness. On a correct and judicious estimate of the evil itself, must depend the efficiency or inefficiency of all plans and efforts for its removal.

If we merely apply to it the abstract principle of moral right and wrong, and call it *SIN*, I am aware that nothing is more easy than to prescribe the cure. This, of course, is *immediate repentance*. All must agree in the general concession, that *sin*, as such, is wrong, and ought, without delay, to be forsaken. But, to test the efficiency of this mode of combatting the evil of *slavery*, we have only to apply it to

the other national sins which have been mentioned.

The violation of the Sabbath by the transportation of the public mails and the attendant post-office duties, is a national sin, because sanctioned by law ; and we are all partakers in its guilt, as in the case of *slavery*. And as a sin against the divine law, all must admit that it ought *immediately* to be repented of and forsaken. It is more easy and practicable for post-masters and mail-contractors to abandon at once, their posts of office, than it is for the slaveholder *immediately* to emancipate his slaves. Both are under equal *moral* obligation to perform their duty in the matter.

But the work of repentance, according to this abstract mode of reasoning, to be thorough, must go further ; and extend not only to the immediate agents in those sins, but to all who, in *any way* participate therein. Accordingly, all who avail themselves, directly or indirectly, of the *advantages* of Sabbath mails, and all

who in any way wink at the sin, are, so far from being accusers, transgressors themselves, and under obligations of immediate repentance. And who, then, is clear in this matter ?

On the same principle, all who directly or indirectly avail themselves of the benefits of slave labor ; who traffic in or use any of the productions of slave countries ; or who, in *any way*, wink at the sin, are, so far from being rightful *accusers*, the transgressors themselves, and under obligations of immediate repentance. And who of us is exempt in *this* matter ?

And, pursuing the same reasoning ; as the churches of Christ are unquestionably bound not to suffer *sin* upon their members, but to reprove and rebuke it ; and if still persisted in, to cut off the offender ; who that sustains a place in the visible church, has any right, on these abstract principles, to stand a moment, unless he at once break off from all direct and indirect participation in these national sins.

I wish the reader to perceive the *extent* of

the work of reformation when measured by the line and plummet of the law of God ; and candidly to judge, whether acting according to what human nature *ought* to be, instead of adapting our efforts to its true character and condition, we can most efficiently promote a reformation on the subject of *slavery* or any other sin.

If we carry this abstract principle of sin to its full extent, the slave-holder would not be exonerated even after the immediate emancipation of his slaves ; but would stand guilty, and equally exposed to censure, for the incapacity of his slaves to provide for themselves after they were liberated, so far as that incapacity could be traced to their former condition.

It is evident, therefore, that mere reasoning on the *moral turpitude of slavery*, however just and cogent, and the application of such arguments to one portion of the community when the whole are guilty : or in other words, the *denunciation* of one class of transgressors

by another, does not present any prospect of relief from the evil—any thing practicable on the subject: but rather tends to exasperate the feelings and harden the heart, and destroy all hope of reformation.

With equal propriety and hope of success might we denounce and reason against idolatry, polytheism, and all sin in this ruined world, and proclaim the duty of immediate repentance; without showing, at the same time, a *way* of deliverance from its thralldom and curse.

With equal justness, might the friends of *entire abstinence from strong drink* be denounced, because they continue to live under a government and laws which tolerate and sanction its traffick and use.

With as much propriety and expectation of usefulness, might a physician denounce the imprudent habits of his patient, and his guilt in contracting the disease under which he may be suffering; and proclaim to him his moral obli-



gations to eradicate those habits; instead of investigating the nature and extent of his malady, and prescribing some practicable, though it might be very gradual process for his recovery.

If, then, the *immediate emancipation* of his slaves, be the *moral* duty of every slave-holder; so is the immediate renunciation of all connection, by use or otherwise, with the products of slave labor, and of all participation in the laws which sanction it, the *moral* duty of every non-slave-holder in the land. And so with regard to every national sin. But, will the continued, boisterous, and I may say angry proclamation of this *moral obligation* by one class of partakers in the sin to another, while no feasible method of relief is made known, be likely to effect a reformation?

And will it not follow of course, on the same principle, that if the duty of *immediate emancipation* is to be so constantly and vehemently urged, the duty of *immediate insurrection*



on the part of slaves ought to be? Surely consistency demands it; for if the master is living in sin every hour he retains possession of his slaves, they are sinning also in submitting to the oppression.

There must then be something wrong in reasoning, which will not bear thus to be extended in its application.

Let us then look a little more particularly at this doctrine respecting the toleration of moral evil. And I remark, on this point, that the power by which moral evil is produced, is not usually competent to its remedy; and, therefore, however culpable for its production, is in vain denounced for not removing it. Is the same power which brought sin and death into the world, adequate to its *immediate and entire* removal?

But *slavery* is not only a *moral*, but a *political* evil. And I remark again, that in the production of *political* evils, the power that produces, cannot always remove them. An institution

may be chartered by legislative enactment, which may, in its operations and results, be productive of much evil to the community; and yet the attempt on the part of the same power to destroy its charter, would be deemed fruitful of far greater mischief.

Nor is it true, that all who *consent to act* under a system of political or moral evil, necessarily approve such system, or are guilty of its injurious results; though by reasoning upon the abstract principle of sin, as has been shown, it may be so made to appear.

A foreign prince may abhor the very system of despotism under which he reigns; but, at the same time, were he to abdicate the throne, he might spread tenfold more mischief through his empire. So that it may be his duty to continue to sway the sceptre, and tolerate the political system which he knows and feels to be wrong, that he may avoid greater evils, and ultimately change or modify the system itself.

A zealous *abolitionist*, knowing that the con-

stitution and laws of the State where he resides, disfranchise the free coloured population within its limits, and even to a certain extent tolerate slavery; (as do the statutes of Connecticut;) may yet deem it his duty to swear allegiance to that constitution, and those laws, and live and act under their operation. But does he therefore *approve* of those peculiar features of the government, because he does not break forth in open hostility to them?

So also, an inhabitant of a State where *slavery* exists, as in the southern section of our land, does not necessarily *approve of slavery*, nor is he entitled to the charge of *man-stealing*, because he lives and acts under the laws which sanction *slavery*. But he may be legally a slave-holder, while in principle and spirit he abhors the system, and does all that he can consistently to mitigate and change it. And I feel authorised to say that such cases are not rare in the South and West.

Take a case in which the question of duty

with regard to this toleration of moral evil is clearly presented. A family is called in the providence of God to remove their residence to one of the slave-holding States. Their heritage is fallen to them there ; and on the cultivation of the farm or plantation, depends their subsistence. But consisting mostly of females, they are dependent on the aid of the laboring class of the community where they dwell. This class they find composed chiefly, if not entirely, of slaves. They have conscientious scruples against slavery and abhor the system ; but unless their labor is performed, and at the proper season, they must be destitute of food and raiment. Shall they *hire* slaves, and thus throw their earnings into the pockets of some unkind and perhaps cruel master ; or shall they *possess* them, and thus be enabled to treat them with Christian kindness ? In either case, they must be connected with slavery ; as the laws permit no emancipated slaves to reside

within the State, unless heavy bonds are given for their support and good behavior.

Now it is very easy to answer, on the abstract principle of sin which we have considered, that they ought to suffer, rather than tolerate the evil. But what is the answer which the real circumstances of the case, under the existing laws of the country where they reside, and the golden rule of equity, would dictate? What answer would the great Governor of the universe give to this question of duty?

This leads me to glance at the doctrine of divine inspiration on this subject; the toleration of moral evil: I do not mean in ourselves, but in others. I will not dwell upon the obvious truth, that Jehovah tolerates it every day. Not that he *approves* it. They are perfectly distinct things. But while sin is that "abominable thing which his soul hateth;" he does not banish it at once, as he might do; nor does he cut off the sinner from the earth: but is long-suffering and of great mercy, that he may gradu-

ally but ultimately bring order and glory out of the confusion which sin has produced. He tolerated many moral evils among the Jews for this same end.

But to the law and the testimony. And I cannot select a better illustration of duty on this point, than the parable which was spoken by the Great Teacher, with particular reference to the existence and cause of moral evil in the church. The caution which it contains is one directly applicable to the subject under consideration.

The servants of a householder discovered, with deep regret, tares growing among the wheat in one of his cultivated fields ; and with great zeal, proposed to their Master to permit them to enter immediately on the work of their extermination. Why should the evil be tolerated a moment ? Why should the householder delay an instant to remove it ? According to the reasoning often employed on this subject, and to which I have alluded, he should have proceeded



at once to the eradication of the tares, without regard to consequences.

His reply to the proposal of his servants is a sufficient answer to such reasoning, and exhibits the Saviour's doctrine on the subject.—“Nay; lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. *Let both grow together until the harvest.*” Not that they were to feel *satisfied* to have the tares growing there; they might desire and pray for their removal; but they were so entwined about the wheat, that to eradicate them at once would be the destruction of both.

The principle here set forth, and to illustrate which I have referred to this parable, is this: that there are moral evils existing under the divine government, the *immediate* removal of which, though desirable, would endanger the most vital interests of society, and be doing evil that good may come.

As reasoning upon the abstract principle of sin, and the denunciations founded on such rea-

soning, avail nothing towards rectifying the evil of *slavery*; still more hopeless, it appears to me, is the attempt to promote this object by *hostility to the American Colonization Society*.

What bearing the invectives which have been issued against that society (whether true or false) can have upon the object proposed, I have ever been at a loss to ascertain. How an association, whose simple design is to aid the *free* coloured population of our country in settling voluntarily in the land of their forefathers, and thus to promote in proportion the abolition of the slave-trade, and the civilization and Christianization of Africa, should be viewed as standing in the way of the reformation of the sin of slavery, is equally unintelligible.

If some of those who have advocated the interests of this society before the public, have held it up to view in an objectionable light; it is presumed there has been enough of the spirit of bitterness and misrepresentation on

the other side, to destroy their prerogative of casting the first stone.

But to test the reasonableness and utility of this method of opposing *slavery*, we may imagine the Colonization Society stricken from existence ; and would the evil of slavery vanish any more quickly for its overthrow ? To say that there are members of this society who are slave-holders, and consequently must be its advocates from interested motives ; is to say no more than might, in substance, be said of all other benevolent institutions in the land, anti-slavery societies not excepted. It can never be a valid objection to an object that it is liable to perversion and abuse, unless it can also be shown that its chief tendency is to such abuse.

But so far is the Colonization Society from justifying such a charge, that its general tendency has manifestly been to promote the *emancipation of slaves*, as well as the welfare of the free coloured population. And to denounce it because some contribute to its support, and

are therefore called its members, who still uphold slavery in their theory and practice ; is, as I remarked, to adopt a principle which would justify the denunciation of every association which receives pecuniary aid from any but the most pious, and disinterested portions of the community.

Shall we cry "crucify it, crucify it !" against the Bible Society, because it enrolls among its members those who disbelieve and reject some of the most important doctrines of revelation, if not practical deists ?

But it may be said that the Colonization Society *does not array itself against slavery*. True : this is not its professed design. Neither does the Bible, Tract, or any of the other religious and benevolent societies of the day. And what reason does *this* afford for special hostility ? Are we justified in opposing the benevolent efforts of others, merely because they follow not us ?

Again, it will perhaps, be said, that some of the advocates for colonization have represented the system as an *ample remedy for slavery*, and a sufficient substitute for all other plans and efforts; and further, that its agents have spoken one language concerning it at the North, and another at the South.\*

To all this I take the liberty of replying again, that the Colonization Society, as well as the Anti-slavery Society, ought to be viewed and treated according to its professed design, and not according to the misdirected zeal of any of its friends. Now, its professed design, as stated by one of its opposers, in quoting its constitution, "is to colonize the *free* people of color residing among us, in Africa, or such other place as Congress may direct." "Steadily ad-

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\* While the British Abolitionists condemn the West India system of apprenticeship in abolishing slavery, is not the example of Great Britain in the matter, continually held up before us by the abolitionists of North America?

hering to this object," he adds, "it has nothing to do with slavery."\*

It certainly requires no uncommon mathematical acuteness to discern, that the annual colonizing of a *few hundreds* of our coloured population, can never be an adequate means of diminishing an annual increase of some *thousands*: an idea which some have seemed to labor intensely to impress on the public mind. Nor is extraordinary skill at computation necessary to shew, that should the disposition to colonize on the part of the people of colour, and the disposition to aid them in so doing on the part of the government, *exceed* their annual increase, it would tend in proportion to reduce their number among us.

And this, it should be observed, would be greatly facilitated, by the colonization of that portion of the population, who are at a time of life to be fathers and mothers. For, from this

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\* Whittier's Address, p. 5.



portion alone can the annual increase be calculated.

Nor is there much extravagance in the belief that such an event would promote, at once, their political welfare and that of the country to which they might emigrate, by placing them in circumstances to form a republic of their own ; and, if in Africa, among a people of their own colour ; and by carrying *civilization*, at least, into its borders.

Whether or not a majority of our coloured population will ever *consent* to emigrate to the land of their forefathers, is of course uncertain. And what of this ? Must the object be abandoned because it meets not with its *full success* at the outset ? Do they who so zealously *oppose* this design, and aim at nothing but the immediate liberation of the whole slave population in the midst of us, relinquish their efforts, or in any degree hesitate in their movements, at what might reasonably be deemed as difficult a problem as those just stated, viz. *According to the ratio*

*of their past success, with the aid of so much wealth, and talent, so many agents, and so much public excitement ; how long will it require for the advocates of immediate abolition to effect the freedom of the whole slave population, including their annual increase ?*

I can discover no reason why, when flourishing and respectable colonies are planted on the African coast, our free coloured population should not flock thither as readily as the emigrants from Europe crowd to our shores, and at their own expense. The probability at least favors the experiment.

Even with the limited resources formed by private contributions, the society has been enabled to send several expeditions to Africa. Recently its claims have been regarded and favored by several of the State legislatures : and “ emancipation,” says Mr. Frelinghuysen, “ has followed closely in the steps of this enterprise. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, have approved it. Maryland has devoted 200,000

dollars, and Virginia 90,000 to the cause.” “Maryland has had an agency in Africa to establish a colony at Cape Palmas, south of Liberia; and she avows in distinct and unequivocal terms, the noble purpose of eradicating slavery from her soil.”

A recent *Colonization Journal* from that State, informs us that the cause meets with increasing success. That “the friends of the cause are more numerous, and increasing in their liberality. In the past year, there have been not less than *six* vessels chartered, and fitted out with emigrants, teachers, missionaries, and officers, to be borne by the winds of Providence to the coast of Africa.” And since December, 1831, when the colonization law was enacted, the number of slaves emancipated, is estimated at *one thousand five hundred and eighty-one*.

This, then, is the way in which the Colonization Society, though not its avowed object, indirectly promotes the abolition of slavery; and

if the general government, or the government of the States respectively, would furnish means to promote this enterprise; and particularly, furnish the means to the colonists of defence against the slave-trade on the coast of Africa; the day would soon dawn which would witness the complete triumph of this cause.

When thus the contrast is presented to the mind of the slave-holder, between the elevated citizens of a colony governed by wise and equal laws, and free as our own; and the degradation of the same class of minds, as held by him in bondage; his reflections will prompt him to place those minds where they can be ennobled and elevated in their condition and prospects.

Will it still be said that the experiment involves a sacrifice of money and life, without a proportionate advantage? The same bugbear has been thrown in the way of all colonial enterprises; and, had it been regarded,

even the settlement of our own country must have been relinquished.

The work of African Colonization has not yet been attended with the sacrifices by which the first colonies on our own shores were planted—not more than were connected with the settlement of some of our Western States; e. g. Kentucky. About a *moiety* of the first emigrants to *Plymouth*, (Mass.) died in four months. Of the one hundred emigrants who first settled *Jamestown*, (Va.) *ninety* were cut off by disease in six months. And subsequently the colonists at the latter place, were reduced in about the same short period, from *five hundred* to *sixty*, by famine. Some time after this, when £150,000 had been expended on that colony, and *nine thousand* persons had emigrated thither, its population amounted to only *eighteen hundred*,\* while out of 3300 emigrants to Africa, sent out by the American Colonization Society, only 733 have been lost in any way.

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\* Report of Colonization Society, 1834.

The incipient work accomplished by the past *missionary* effort, has been attended by a similar sacrifice of life and property. Yet no reflecting mind considers it unnecessary or unprofitable. We ourselves are reaping the blessings resulting from similar missionary efforts and sacrifices in past ages. The opening of such enterprises, like the subduing of uncultivated wilds, must be attended with much labour and risk, and but little, and that very gradual, appearance of success ; which, however, will be proportionate to the numbers and the zeal employed in the work.

But the efforts of the Colonization Society have not been unsuccessful : nor has its success been small, when compared with the means employed, and contrasted with other similar enterprises. Its friends have indeed partaken in a proportionate degree, of the infirmities and proneness to err which marks all the plans and efforts of man.

This, I am aware, has not escaped the notice



of its gainsayers, who, in their vituperations, have manifested that they also inherit the frailties of the race. And, if I do not greatly mistake, a few years to come will evince, that the advocates of immediate abolition, afford equal evidence of the truth of the poet's declaration, "To err is human."

I remarked that the Colonization Society has done something, and done it effectually, beyond the power of human annihilation. Within eighteen years it has opened a bright spot of civilization on the coast of Africa, which will not soon again be enveloped in its former darkness. It has already caused, indirectly, the emancipation of more than a thousand slaves, and colonized about four thousand free coloured persons. Nine settlements, embracing that population, and containing fourteen schools\* and fourteen churches where the gospel is statedly

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\* One half the necessary funds have been raised for the establishment of a College.

preached; with nearly twenty other public buildings; and holding friendly intercourse with the natives, and thus acquiring influence over them; bear testimony that their enterprise and their efforts have not been fruitless.

It is worthy of notice that about one third of these colonists are emancipated slaves from the southern section of our country. Among them also, are nearly six hundred professors of religion, and more than five hundred members of the temperance society—on the principle of entire abstinence.

The effect of this enterprize has been, the *abolition of human sacrifices* from among the natives, and, by its control of nearly four hundred miles of the coast, a proportionate diminution of the slave traffick in that region. It has also opened a safe channel for Christian missions to Africa.

I have already dwelt longer on this subject of colonization and the objections raised against it, than I had intended; yet I cannot leave it,

without adverting to a somewhat curious exemplification of this hostility in two diametrically opposite objections.

The opponents of the Colonization Society at the North, have charged it with riveting the fetters of the slave by soothing the conscience of the slave-holder—justifying his claim of property in his slaves; and enabling him to hold them with greater security; and fostering the distinction which exists in the community between the black man and the white.

On the other hand, its Southern opposers accuse it of acting under a disguise; and, while it professes to confine its operations to colonizing the *free* people of colour, covertly undermining the system of slavery, and slyly effecting the work of abolition. It is remarkable that this latter objection is peculiar to those portions of the South, that are most resolutely determined to perpetuate slavery.

The reader, on contemplating these two antipodal objections, will very naturally recur to

the kindred spirit and reasoning which was once arrayed against the perfection of purity and worth, human and divine. "John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, He hath a devil. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a man gluttonous, and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners."

Thus when this society is said to have in view the removal of slavery, we hear the charge that it is inefficient, and worse than useless: and if its friends disavow any direct interference with the subject, then the outcry against it is, that it winks at oppression and sanctions the sin!

The objection of its southern foes is surely a sufficient reply to that of its northern opponents. The fact too, that a large proportion of the colonists at Liberia are emancipated slaves from the South, silences the charge that it rivets the chains of slavery.

With regard to that *count in the indictment*

which charges it with fostering the distinction between the black man and the white, it may thus be analyzed. *The Colonization Society is a system of cruelty and oppression towards the FREE COLOURED PEOPLE, because it provides for them a refuge from the unhappy influence (call it prejudice if you please) that depresses them, and separates them from their white brethren in the enjoyment of political and social privileges.* What else can be made of the cavil? Now suppose again, this society obliterated. Would this distinction between the black and the white cease? Has it arisen from this Society? No: for it is well known, that it was the existence of this very *prejudice* (if you choose so to call it) rendering the condition and prospects of the free colored man in this land so unhappy, that gave rise to the plans of this society. It originated in a benevolent design to remedy this very evil.

But, says the objector, "To send them away to a heathen country is cruelty, and only serves

to obstruct their elevation here, and maintain the distinction of colour."

"But how else can you abolish the distinction, and place them on a level with the rest of the community?"

"By denouncing the sin or the prejudice, until it is annihilated."

"But while this denunciation is in progress, and before the community are disposed to cower under it, must those who are willing and anxious to escape from the influence of this prejudice to a land where it is unknown, have no aid afforded them in accomplishing their wishes?"

"No: this is cruelty—this is expatriation."

The reader can judge of the force of such reasoning; especially when he looks at it in connection with the fact, that in some of the abolition publications, the numerous instances of emancipation of slaves by their masters with a view to their colonization, have been boastingly attributed to the influence of *abolition* doctrines!!



Whatever be the origin or foundation of that feeling which in this country dooms the coloured man, whether bond or free, to obscurity and depression, be it just or unjust; no denunciation nor change of public sentiment on the subject of *slavery*, will ever reach it. *Swarthy* and *fair*, as to complexion, will still continue to have their peculiar and distinctive meanings. It can no more be abolished, than the distinction of colour itself. The very experiment, to place the two classes whom nature has thus distinguished, on a level in social and domestick life; overthrows the whole design by its disgusting influence. Its effect was strikingly exemplified a short time ago in the case of a zealous abolitionist, who had been declaiming on his favorite theme, in one of the villages in Pennsylvania. On taking his seat in a railroad car the next morning, the manager, either by accident or design, placed him in one where were *two negroes*. The lecturer immediately protested against the proceeding, and refused to ride with them. When

reminded of the principles he had advocated the evening previous, he became quite angry, and persisted in claiming his privilege to sit *apart* from the negroes.

And this is *not* mere prejudice, any more than the preference of one human form to another under any other circumstances; or than the preference of a *rose* to a *poppy*.

“De gustibus non est disputandum.”

These social restrictions are not confined to the African. Similar feelings are cherished towards the Indian, and the South Sea Islander. It does not arise from any obliquity of *moral* feeling. For the distinction is in perfect accordance with humane and even Christian principles of regard and esteem. It never was the design of Christianity to destroy all distinctions in society. The master may feel towards and treat his servant as a Christian, though he may not admit him to the intimacies and privileges of a child. We may as well talk of amalgamating the relation of master and servant, as

amalgamation on this point. The apostle Paul, in his letter to Philemon, recognizes his property in Onesimus as his *servant*, though both master and servant were Christians.

These remarks on colonization and the objections raised against it, though protracted beyond my intention, afford a mere glance at the subject, which the reader will find satisfactorily presented in detail in the society's publications. From the correspondence between the colonists and their former masters, in which they express their contentment and happiness, will be found ample refutation of the calumnies thrown upon them by the enemies of this cause. And it will be seen also, on referring to these documents, that very much, if not all the discontent which may have been manifested by some, was the result either of direct or indirect interference on the part of these enemies to produce it.

From this cursory glance, however, it must be apparent, that hostility against this cause

has no tendency to remove the evil of *slavery*, any more than denunciation of the sin in the abstract.

Still more rash, and not more effectual is the attempt to turn the current of popular feeling against slavery by the loud cry of *immediate restitution* of the wrongs of the slave, accompanied by exaggerated, if not false, representations of those wrongs through the medium of pictorial and other descriptions. The walls of Jericho were once prostrated with an outcry ; but it was by the express command of Jehovah, and not without His special and miraculous aid.

But the age of miracles has passed away ; and if it had not, we know of no similar command on this subject ; and consequently there is no certainty, and I may say no probability, that the professed wishes of the advocates of immediate abolition, will in this way be fulfilled.

The walls of the temple of freedom—the

great charter and constitution of our liberties : may be crushed by the means, after a long and bloody scene of civil and domestick warfare, and perhaps, the utter extermination of the poor slaves themselves ; and they who shall have been the instigators and promoters of the ruin, may stand as horror-stricken as did the woman of Endor at the result of her incantations.

But this is not the professed object of their desires and plans. Why then attempt to accomplish it in a way that can end only in revolution and carnage ? The rumblings of the storm are already heard : why persevere in the mad attempt to exterminate the wheat and tares together ?

The cry for *immediate restitution* is founded in error. Though the *purpose* of such restitution ever attends genuine repentance, it can be of little avail to enjoin it, much less to enforce it (so far as moral reformation is concerned) where repentance is wanting. And even where the spirit of penitence is found,



*immediate* restitution is, not always safe nor practicable. Many cases might be adduced to shew that its immediate performance would not only defeat itself, but promote the injury of the person to whom the restitution should be made: as in the case of a lunatic, or an idiot.

Suppose an individual who by fraudulent means has obtained from his neighbour a valuable *watch*, becomes penitent for his fault, and disposed to make ample restitution. On visiting his neighbour for that purpose, however, he discovers him to be in a state of mental hallucination, to which he is at times known to be subject; and he is assured that if he should at that time deliver to him the *watch*, he would instantly dash it in pieces, and withal, have no correct understanding of the object of his visit. Most clearly it is not his duty *then* to make the restitution.

And with regard to the overwrought descriptions which have been employed to depict the *horrors of slavery*: it is an expedient itself at variance with the moral law. We may *fancy*



scenes of horror ; and in the fervor of a heated imagination cry out for the cause of liberty. But to employ fancy sketches, or even real instances of cruelty and suffering, to exhibit the *general* character of slavery at the South and West, is to pourtray injustice by injustice ; and when the misrepresentation is brought to light, to obstruct and defeat the very object for which the portraiture was drawn.

The writer has had some opportunities to observe personally the character and operation of *slavery*, in one of the States where it exists, and to learn its peculiar features in other portions of the South and West, from respectable and intelligent individuals and families from those regions ; and he has not been able to discover that *cruelty* is a predominant feature of slave-holders in the treatment of their slaves\*

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\* “ John Randolph of Roanoake would be delayed a week from Congress, that he might distribute winter clothing to his slaves with his own hands. He said they could not be placed in a better condition than they then enjoyed, and

On the contrary, with the exception of the *traffick*, and the unhappiness and separations attending it; and the legal restrictions imposed on them; the slave population of those States are as comfortable, if not more so, than an equal number of the poor and labouring classes in any community; and more happy than the mass of the free coloured population. So much so, at least, that to turn them *adrift* on the ocean of life at once, to take care of themselves, would be cruelty far surpassing any treatment which most of them now receive.

A large proportion of the slave population is composed of old and decrepid men and women and young children; and a considerable portion of those who are active and useful, are no better than children in the matter of providing for themselves. Numbers of them, too,

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that he would give five hundred pounds to know how they could be kept in as good condition after his death." (*Testimony of R. Randolph, Jr. in the Randolph Will case.*)

are quite unprofitable to their masters, from a natural deficiency of energy and skill ; requiring a constant superintendence and guardianship in their labour.

When once emancipated, there would be no obligation on the part of their previous owners to hire or employ any but the able-bodied and industrious, or those, in other words, who were worth employing.

And what would be the effect upon the great body of the slave-population, to be thrown, in this heterogeneous, crude state, as *paupers* upon the community ? The following letter of the late President Madison, may serve to throw some light upon this question.

*(From the New York Times.)*

RICHMOND, March 23, 1836.

*To the Editor of the Richmond Register :*

SIR—You expressed a wish to obtain information in relation to the history of the emancipated Blacks in Prince Edward. I presume, those emancipated by the late Richard Randolph, more especially.

More than twenty-five years ago, I think, they were liberated, at which time they numbered about *one hundred*,

and were settled upon small parcels of land of from ten to twenty-five acres to each family. As long as the habits of industry which they had acquired while slaves, lasted, they continued to increase in numbers, and lived in some degree of comfort. But this was soon lost, and the most of those who had been in slavery, having either died, or become old and infirm, a new race, raised in idleness and vice, sprung up. They began not only to be idle and vicious; but to diminish instead of increasing; and have continued to diminish in numbers very regularly every year: and that too, without emigration. For they have, almost without exception, remained together in the same situation where they were first placed, to this day. Idleness, poverty, and dissipation, are the agents which continue to diminish their numbers, and to render them wretched in the extreme, as well as a great *pest*, and heavy tax upon the neighbourhood in which they live. There is so little of industry, and so much of dissipation amongst them, that it is impossible that the females can rear their children: of which, indeed, their dissolute habits prevent them from having but few.—The operations of time, profligacy, and disease, more than keep pace with any increase among them. Whilst they are a very great pest, and heavy tax upon the community, it is most obvious that they themselves are infinitely worsted by the exchange from slavery to *liberty*, if indeed their condition deserve that name.

JAMES MADISON.

The changes are constantly rung upon the word *liberty*: and it expresses indeed an inestimable blessing. But the liberty which we esteem,

is widely different from that which immediate and unconditional emancipation would yield to its subjects. Nor is the withholding or depriving of civil liberty, under all circumstances except for crime, a moral wrong or sin. It is often necessary for the general good, that individuals should suffer in this respect. As in the case of *jurors* on trials for capital offences:—in times of pestilence, to secure medical and other aid for the sick:—in time of *war*, to obtain a sufficient military force, &c. &c. And it is well known that individual rights are daily sacrificed to the public good, in the progress of municipal and other internal improvements. So also, it might not be difficult to shew, that a suitable regard to the welfare of society, forbids the immediate and unconditional liberation of the slaves, and requires that they be retained in servitude, until they shall be properly fitted to meet and sustain the cares, as well as to value the blessings of a state of freedom. That it is the interest as well as the duty of slave-holders to commence this



work of preparation without delay, will, it is presumed, not be denied. It must be stated, however, that some of the advocates of immediate emancipation modify the term; and explain it to mean an immediate and universal denunciation of the whole system of slavery, for the purpose of influencing publick sentiment and awaking publick indignation against it; which is in substance the same spirit and design on which I have just animadverted.

In addition to what has been advanced, the writer would remark, that there is a rule which never fails when applied, to determine any question of duty between man and his fellow man: and in conclusion, will the reader indulge him in its application to the question of *slavery*? The rule is this: "*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*" This rule, it should be observed, regards man as he *is*, not as he *ought* to be; i. e. it is to be adopted and acted on in the *present* circumstances of mankind. In seeking the best meth-



od of remedying the *evils of slavery* then, so far from denouncing the slave-holder, and, under the influence of party zeal, demanding unconditional and immediate emancipation, reckless of consequences; we must first, in imagination, place ourselves in the stead both of the master and the slave. As was remarked in the commencement of this essay, we must first look at the evil in its *true* nature and extent. We must have in view the welfare of *both* parties. The method which will banish slavery consistently with this, we may be sure is the proper method.

Here, then, it is believed, has been a radical mistake in the movements of those who are popularly styled "*abolitionists*." Instead of adopting the rule just stated; they have pursued a policy, and manifested a spirit, which have very justly spread the sentiment throughout the slave-holding population of the South and West, that they are seeking the mere *emancipation* of the slave, not only with-

out any regard to the interests and welfare of his master, but also regardless of the consequences to the slave himself. Whereas, the golden rule of equity requires that they should have sought, and made it *apparent* that they sought the welfare of both master and slave. The effect has been, as we all know, and as the most melancholy facts testify, to inflame the passions and rouse the prejudices of that whole community to such a degree, as not only to defeat the design of these movements, and barricade all access to the mind and heart; but also to threaten a convulsion which will shake the political fabrick of this great nation into atoms; unless the agents in this work shall seasonably discover that God's service does not require them to *gather up tares*, when there is any danger that they may root up also the wheat with them.

Now, the evil which we wish to abolish, has been through a long course of years, entailed upon our neighbours in the southern and west-

ern slave States, and many of them, I might say most of them, feel it to be a curse. And very gladly would they have it removed immediately, could it be done without bringing upon themselves and upon the slaves an accumulation of greater evils. They know the character of the coloured population, and they know the effects of premature steps in this matter. And when urged to immediate action on this subject, without regard to consequences and without preparation, the answer is obvious, and satisfactory to a reflecting mind, that "duty has no claims where both the right and the power to receive it, are wanting." "The door," say they, "is shut upon us here, nor could we open it, but by a violence destructive of public harmony, and probably fatal to our national union."\*

Adopting the Saviour's rule, therefore, and avoiding those measures which serve only to exasperate the feelings, and arm the prejudices

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\* African Repository, March, 1834.

of the slave-holder ; we should, by a judicious, affectionate, and faithful exposure of the evil, endeavour to convince him, that slavery is at once a sin and a curse ; and that it ought to be abhorred and forsaken ;—that it is his interest to give his attention to the subject without delay. Placing ourselves as it were in his circumstances, and desiring to promote his best interests, we should regard the perils necessarily resulting from the sudden liberation of so great a mass of men incapable of self-government, and influenced only by passion and revenge ; and propose those measures which would tend to fit them for self-government, by suitable instruction promoting mental exertion ; and by the inculcation of virtuous principles, accompanied with humane treatment, and the prospect of freedom at a proper time, perhaps purchased by themselves, on some plan of apprenticeship, either here or in Africa. We would recommend the immediate relinquishment of the *traffick*, which leads to the separa-

tion of husbands and wives, parents and children—and the employment of every means which would prepare the slave to enjoy and value his freedom, so soon as God in his providence shall open a way for its accomplishment in a proper manner : for which we should earnestly enquire of Him.

These are the views which it is hoped our neighbours at the South and West will cherish towards this subject, and these the principles on which, it is believed, they will find it for their interest to act. It is worthy of notice, that previous to the Northern abolition movements, the slave-holders of the South had emancipated many thousands of slaves, through the influence of the gospel and our free institutions alone.\*

Again, we should place ourselves, as it were, in the condition of the *slaves* ; and candidly weigh the consequences of being cast at once as paupers on the public support, without the knowledge

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\* African Repository.



necessary to self-respect and control ; or if they possessed the means of supporting themselves, of being subjected to that depression which the distinction of colour connects with the prospects of the black man in this country. And with true sympathy and rational benevolence, we should endeavour to provide the necessary and effectual relief. The only practicable method yet devised to meet this particular exigency, appears to be that afforded by the system of colonization. It has been hitherto approved by Heaven, and has shared its smiles ; and it is sanctioned by precedent in the history of the Divine administration. For when Jehovah would effect the universal emancipation of his chosen people from Egyptian slavery, he effected it by bringing them *out of the land of their captivity* and *colonizing* their posterity in the land of their forefathers. And could we have the same certainty of *immediate colonization*, it would afford at least a very strong inducement to as *immediate emancipation*.



Above all, taking the same rule of equity as a guide, we should send to the slave-holder and the slave, the GOSPEL OF CHRIST, which is the most efficient, if not the only remedy for the whole evil. We should send it, not obtrusively, but in the spirit of kindness. I know that under the present excited state of feeling, in those regions, this is apparently almost impracticable ; and the old legal restrictions on the subject of instructing the slaves, and other severe enactments, which were becoming obsolete and inefficient, have been revived by the force of the excitement and rendered more rigorous. Yet the *gospel* is our only hope in this exigency. What else can avail us? Public opinion cannot remove the evil, unless we suppose such opinion to be *universal*, which is in substance supposing the evil removed. Before such sentiment can be universal, the *consent of the slave-holders* must be obtained. And how shall this be effected? Surely not by standing afar off from them, and in the midst of com-

munities where slavery is unknown and even abhorred, denouncing it as *sin* in the sight of God, under any and all circumstances ; (a charge which is not true even in the case of taking human life by violence ;) and heaping upon the character of the slave-holder the most opprobrious epithets ; holding him up before the publick with a spirit which would let loose, if it could, the lightnings of heaven upon his head, as a “man-stealer,” and an “inhuman wretch ;” “the bristling and unprincipled slave-holder,” and “the pro-slavery negro-hater.” The very last of all measures, one would think, which a mind in the smallest degree acquainted with mankind, and desirous of success, would think of adopting.

Nor can the power of *legislation* remove the evil, and *compel* the slave-holder to acquiesce ; unless indeed it be the legislation of the slaveholding States themselves. The general government of this nation have no jurisdiction over it ; and all attempts to induce it to assume such

jurisdiction, must, and ought to be nugatory. It has, indeed, the legislative control of the District of Columbia ; but this too, is restricted by good faith on the part of the nation, towards the States adjacent.

The general government have no right, even *virtually*, by their operations in the District, to destroy that faith, any more than by granting chartered privileges to one institution, to *virtually* annul or injure those previously granted to another. The wishes of the inhabitants of the District themselves are surely first to be consulted, if we would do to others as we would have them do to us. And next, the wishes of the inhabitants of the adjoining States, whose already chartered interests may be seriously affected by the act.

Although the power exists, therefore, in Congress to legislate for the District, there are several questions to settle before it may be expedient to exercise that power in the matter of *slavery*. It could only serve to create an incon-

venience in the intercourse between the inhabitants of the District and their neighbours, while it would not remedy the evil.

But beyond the District of Columbia, Congress have no power to touch the evil under consideration. And if the power existed, the question of expediency with regard to its exercise under present circumstances, would be solemn and momentous. A respectful regard to the petitions of the people, when properly presented, is doubtless their duty. But, as to granting the prayer of such petitions, it is equally their right and their prerogative to determine. The exercise of the power, if it existed, might rend asunder the constituent parts of this great republic; but it would also as certainly and effectually terminate the efforts and the hopes of those who urge the application of this remedy to *slavery*, and would fix the evil beyond our control.

But make the slave-holder a *Christian*, and he will begin to feel the influence of gospel

principles. This, as was observed, is already apparent in numerous instances. And *Christian* slave-holders, (for notwithstanding the Shibboleth of a party on this point, I do not deem this phrase incongruous,) are availing themselves of the opportunity afforded by the Colonization Society, of emancipating their slaves consistently with their own and their neighbour's security, and the welfare of the slaves themselves. And the gospel would enjoin their emancipation on no other conditions, according to the rule already stated.

Every measure which tends to inflame the passions of the master and lead him to sin against the slave, either by an increase of rigour, or a premature discharge, is inconsistent with its spirit. And every measure which would make the slave sin against the master, either by a desertion from his service, or by violence against his person and property, is equally so. When the illustrious forerunner of the Saviour was accosted by certain sol-



diers who were under bonds as rigorous and oppressive as any slave, and had as great temptations to desertion—"Master, what shall we do?"—did he encourage them to attempt their escape, and in the spirit of some *professed Christians* in modern times, *denounce* those who held them in servitude? Far from it.—"Do violence to no man, and be content with your wages." But was this winking at their oppression?

And what say the Apostles of Christ?—

"Servants, be obedient unto them that are your masters according to the flesh."

"Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward."

Here we find no *insurrection* nor *desertion* inculcated.

"Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven."

"Let as many servants as are under the



yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour." "And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren."

It should be remembered that these precepts were given under the existence of the Roman laws, by which slaves were bought and sold, as any other commodity; and under which, they were treated with far more rigour and severity than any in modern times. But where do we find the apostles denouncing the relation between the master and slave? On the contrary, the Apostle Paul alludes to the custom of the country on this subject as an illustration of the Christian's redemption, when he says, "Ye are bought with a price." They found the political institutions of the country established; nor did they attempt to interfere with them, except by inculcating the pure and perfect principles of the gospel of Christ.

Thus the *Jewish* lawgiver also found *slavery* and *polygamy* established; but instead of at-

tacking them by force, and violent denunciation, he proceeded as was most prudent, to *regulate and mitigate* what he could not control. Thus, too, if we would labour successfully in redeeming our own happy land from the sin and curse of *slavery* and other national sins, we must make the gospel our guide.

Make the slave a *Christian*, and he will be prepared for freedom. The gospel has effected this, and it will continue to produce the effect, just as rapidly as it reaches the hearts of the master and the slave. This alone, through the attendant power of the Divine Spirit, can make man what he ought to be under any circumstances.

It may indeed be said that the gospel has not produced emancipation in the Southern States in proportion to its extent; and that many slave-holders prevent their slaves from receiving it.

The same might be said of every community in Christendom; that many still remain

uninfluenced by the gospel, and hate and reject it. Nor has it been the instrument of conversion to all the *heathen* who have received it. In many parts of the pagan world it is interdicted by law, and all who promulgate it are subjected to the severest penalties.

And even in not a few of the highly favoured communities of New England, may be found those, who wilfully exclude themselves and their families from many, if not all of the means of salvation. But the truth stands unaltered, that *the gospel is their only hope.*

So also notwithstanding the objection, is it the only effectual remedy for *slavery*. This, under the blessing of Jehovah, will liberate both master and slave from the captivity of sin and Satan, and fit them to discharge their respective duties according to "the perfect law of liberty." Then there could be no danger from *immediate* emancipation.

It is worthy of notice here, that the dreadful massacre at Southampton a few years since,

was the result of *fanaticism*. Its instigator dreamed that it was the will of God that he should devise the scheme. Had his mind been enlightened in the knowledge of gospel principles, that melancholy event would doubtless not have stained our annals.

It is the gospel alone that can render those *colonies* which have been planted on the coast of long neglected and injured Africa, and those which shall hereafter be formed there, a blessing to that land. And it is the duty, and I trust the design, of those who are engaged in this benevolent enterprise, to make each colony a bright centre of radiation, from which the beams of gospel truth may extend their healing and saving influence. And with this design in view their cause will triumph. This, it is believed, was the high and holy purpose of its original patrons.

“The year 1792 was rendered memorable by the establishment of the colony of Sierra Leone, and, in connexion with that, the adoption

of a system of measures in behalf of enslaved Africa, which, we have reason to hope, will eventuate in her complete emancipation.”—  
“The flourishing colony already opens a wide door for the introduction of Christianity and civilization into the heart of Africa: and recent information inspires the hope, that the *American Colonization Society* is about to obtain firm footing in that land of darkness, and to plant there a vine whose branches shall spread far and wide, over those regions of desolation.”\*

Again—“One of the most delightful, benevolent, and ennobling hopes that ever animated the bosom of an American patriot, is, that the western coast of Africa will yet be fringed with American colonies; and that, under the influence of their happy example, the governments of all that benighted continent will come to be

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\* Sermon on the last Sabbath of the year 1822, by Rev. Joel Hawes, Hartford.



modeled after the precious free institutions of his own beloved country. Must this hope, that Africa may be thus Americanized, be extinguished? Must the lights which American patriotism and piety have for fifteen years been kindling up on that dark coast—lights, on which the philanthropy of the world has fixed its gaze, and to which the eyes of thousands and tens of thousands of native Africans are already turned with joyful hope—must these lights be put out forever? Must humanity fail of reaping a bright harvest from the precious seed which has been sown there at so great an expense of treasure and life? To all these inquiries the Anti-slavery society makes an affirmative answer; and manifests, in doing so, the sad effects of party spirit on the good men who give tone to the society. The benevolent men who lead the Anti-slavery Society, once had sympathy for Africa. Where is it now? How little evidence of its continued existence in the proceedings and organs of that society! How



little in the conversation and prayers of its members ! With colonization, designed to strew the richest blessings among the millions of Africa, they have nothing to do—save to oppose it with all their might,—and this too, for no better reason, than because they are burning with hatred towards the agents who carry it on.”

“ Again we entreat these unrelenting enemies of the Colonization Society to revise their judgment against it ; peradventure they may be moved, in view of the unreasonableness, vindictiveness, and severity of that judgment, to reverse it. But if they shall still be inexorable to our calls on their justice and their Christian sympathy and forgiveness ; if they shall still persist in demanding the unconditional destruction of the society ; and if nothing short of this can appease their implacable malevolence towards it : then let them know that its friends are as determined as its foes. Our determination is fixed—fixed as the love of God and the

love of man in our hearts—that the Colonization Society, under the blessing of Him who never even ‘for a small moment has forsaken’ it, shall continue to live;—and to live too, until the wrongs of the children of Africa amongst us are redressed; until the slave-trade has ceased, and the dark coasts which it has polluted and desolated for centuries, are overspread with the beautiful and holy fruits of *civilization* and *the Christian religion*. And as we fear the judgments of heaven on those who commit great sin, so we dare not desert the society, and leave Satan to rejoice over the ruin of all this ‘work of faith and labour of love.’ ”\*

One of our most eminent statesmen† remarked that “the Colonization cause must prosper, for it unites religion with patriotism, humanity with justice and safety.”

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\* Sentiments of Gerrit Smith, Esq., 1834.

† The Hon. Henry Clay.

It has already been shewn that this remark is justified in the history of the colonists themselves, *one fourth* of whom are professors of religion. And the object of the society, in the language of one of its recent advocates, "is by means of the colored people in this country, to liberate *fifty millions* of souls from the most appalling rites of the bloodiest superstition, and make them free indeed ; and likewise to introduce amongst them the blessings of civilization and free government. It is not merely to find a more comfortable residence for the free people of colour ; it is to endeavour to secure an eternal residence in heaven for the wicked, wretched, degraded African. I do not look upon the African in this country as a mere slave ; I see in him an apprentice brought from a land of superstition and despotism, to learn the principles of religion and liberty ; I see in him a person schooled for the benefit of his country, and the improvement of his species ; and whose business and glory it will be to

regenerate his native land." "Is it not cause for regret, if not wonder, that there should be a Christian or a man who will not aid this, of all others, the noblest benevolence of modern days !"\*

The fact that in Africa there are not the obstacles in the way of the gospel that impede its progress in other heathen lands—no caste—no ancient institutions—no unchangeable laws—no material idolatry—affords special encouragement to the friends of colonization to aim principally at its **EVANGELIZATION**.

And, in conclusion, I would repeat the remark, that this result should be the *first* object of the friends of the coloured bond-servants in America ; and especially of those by whom they are held in bondage, viz. : to make them, under God's blessing, the

—“freemen whom the truth makes free.”

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\* Speech of Capt. R. F. Stockton at the meeting of the Colonization Society, Trenton, N. J., Feb. 1837.

Let the slave-holder take as his guide, that heavenly rule of equity, which has already been quoted, and applied to this subject. Let him contemplate in the slave committed to his care, not only a fellow man, but a *spirit immortal*, destined alike with himself, soon to commence the "travel of eternity." And thus viewing its character, let him become to the poor benighted soul that is toiling away its probation in his service, a ministering angel of mercy, by giving to it without delay, the light and the consolations of the GLORIOUS GOSPEL OF THE BLESSED GOD.

"Inform his mind ; one flash of heavenly day,  
Would heal his heart, and melt his chains away.  
'Beauty for ashes' is a gift indeed,  
And slaves by truth enlarged, are doubly freed ;  
Then would he say, submissive at thy feet,  
While gratitude and love made service sweet,—  
'My dear deliverer out of hopeless night,  
Whose bounty bought me but to give me light,  
I was a bondman on my native plain,  
Sin forged, and Ignorance made fast the chain :



Thy lips have shed instruction as the dew,  
• Taught me what path to shun, and what pursue.  
Farewell, my former joys! I sigh no more  
For Africa's once loved, benighted shore;  
Serving a benefactor, I am free;  
At my best home, if not exiled from thee!" "

Thus with the gospel operating upon the hearts of both the slave-holder and the slave, we may hope, most effectually to promote their preparation, not only for the dissolution of the bonds of domestick slavery as it exists in our happy country; but also for their becoming, under God, the honoured instruments of rekindling the light of science and civilization on that distant continent, and spreading over it the fertility, beauty, and happiness, which are the fruits of a pure Christianity. This will be, in the broadest, noblest sense, "to loose the bands of wickedness—to undo the heavy burdens—to let the oppressed go free—and to break every yoke."



